1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

• 264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [267] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 261 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [512] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [226] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 609 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massa de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee mufio"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 431
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with rocuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little 431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [244]
hung up on a peg.

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

573 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju [535] lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

765 [535] About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in the order susa, sɔŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morning the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 262 264 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/186 cont./

765 264 [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G...., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his a basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/271 cont./

*539 rice-straw broom (2). If you rub me with it, I lose my

[264]
[824]

2. The Refugee Blacks have the practice of using lemon juice for scouring dishes.

power."

He said: "That's good; please agree to come into my ɔbia house, so that I may frustrate my wife Wénon and my children. They tire me." It said: "Very well, I shall go with you." He walked, he put it on his head. His belly was full, comrades, his intestines were full. He walked until he arrived at the outskirts of the village. He shouted: "All the people of the village, shut yourselves up, I am carrying my ɔbia to my ɔbia house." They said: "What art thou saying?" He repeated: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot to my ɔbia house." Gban! Gban! The people slammed the doors of their houses, gban!

Anansi walked to his ɔbia house, opened the door, he hung up the frying-pan in a corner.

That day he did not eat in Wénon's house. Wénon cooked spinach for him. He said: "My belly is full." He waited until midnight, then he went out. He said to the frying-pan: "Frying-pan, why are you beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Show me so that I may see."

It began to fry for him as much food as he could eat. /271/
/272/ One of his children named Akpwatitikwati said (to his brother) Asingébélé: "We are cleverer than Anansi. I am going to keep an eye on my father until I surprise him." Then he began to watch him and surprised him. He saw and cried: "So that's how he did it."

Anansi said he was going hunting; then he went away to hunt. (Immediately) the children came; they said: "Frying-pan..." ... (same formulas).